## Absentativity in Penobscot

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## I. Introduction

- Reporting on the absentative (prioritive, inaccessible; Goddard 1979a,b, Pentland 2000a,b) in Penobscot, an Eastern Abenaki dialect of central Maine.
- Discussion of form and function (sects. II \& III) limited here so as to better cover absentative conjunct and absentative locative analysis (IV); which leads to a tentative suggestion towards the solution of certain historical reconstruction problems for the E. Algonquian absentative and subjunctive (V)


## II. Form

Absentative affixes (Penobscot)

|  | singular | plural | obv. singular | obv. plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| animate | $-\mathbf{a},-\partial$ ka $^{I}$ | $-ə k a k$ | $-ə k a l$ | $-ə k a$ |
| inanimate | $-\boldsymbol{e}$ | $-\partial k a l$ |  |  |

Non-absentative affixes (Penobscot)

|  | singular | plural | obv. singular | obv. plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| animate | $\varnothing$ | -ak, -ok, -ik | $-\mathrm{al},-\mathrm{ol},-\mathbf{i l}$ | $-\mathbf{a},-\mathbf{o},-\mathbf{i} h \mathbf{i}$ |
| inanimate | $\varnothing$ | -al, -ol, -il |  |  |

-an outgrowth (or rather "ingrowth") of the "peripheral" endings (hence partial fusion w/ anim., num, obv.)
Absentative demonstratives

| ANIMATE | singular | plural | obv. singular | obv. plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| proximal | ow $\alpha \mathbf{k a}$ | ow $\alpha \mathbf{k i k}$ | owekal | oweka |
| distal | n $\alpha \mathbf{k a}$ | n $\alpha \mathbf{k i k}$ | nekal | neka |
| supradistal | iy $\alpha \mathbf{k a}$ | iy $\alpha \mathbf{k i k}$ | [unattested] | [unattested] $^{2}$ |


| INANIMATE | singular | plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| proximal | weke | wekal $^{3}$ |
| distal | neke | nekal |
| supradistal | iyeke | iyekal |


| Non-Absentative demonstratives |
| :--- |
| ANIMATE singular plural obv. singular obv. plural <br> proximal owa iyokik iyolil iyohi <br> distal na nikik nilil nihi <br> supradistal    ${ }^{4}$ | iya $\quad$ iyekik $\quad$ iyelil $\quad$ iyehi | iya |
| :--- |


| INANIMATE | singular | plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| proximal | iyo | iyolil |
| distal | ni | nilil |
| supradistal | iye | iyelil |

## Absentative concord is strikingly inconsistent

demonstrative ${ }^{5}$-nominal concord:
(1) ...wə̀s $\alpha m$ kəták $\alpha k a$ kətosísənawa.

| wəs $\alpha m$ <br> because | kətak. $\alpha \mathbf{k a}$ | kə-tos-s-ənaw-a |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| other.ABS.AN | 2-daughter-dim-1pl-ABS.AN |  |

'...because of our other little deceased daughter.'(mòlkohk:13)
demonstrative-nominal lack of concord:
(2) ksìpa, ni wa nəmóhsomsa, kči-ačə́ssahtəke, ...

| ksipa | ni | wa | nə-mohsoməhs-a, | kəht-ačəssahtək"e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| so.you.see | then | this.AN | 1-[grandfather]-ABS.AN | great-[dragonfly] |

'So you see, at that time my dead grandfather, Old Dragon Fly, ...'
nominal-verb lack of concord (here of contextually identical referents):
(3) məsitte nəkihk $\alpha$ nekak, məsitte sək้əskəčakihasolətəwak.
məsi=tte nəkəhk $\alpha-n . e-[w]-ə k . a k$
all=EMP entirely-die.? $\mathrm{AN}=$-W-ABS.ANpl
məsi=tte sək้əsk-əčak-has-i-[w]-ələt.i-[w]-ak
all=EMP to.pieces-squishy.mass-[change.quickly.? $\left.{ }_{\text {aN }}\right]-\mathrm{W}-\left[\left[x p l . ?{ }_{\mathrm{AN}}\right]\right]-\mathrm{W}-\mathrm{ANpl}$
'They all died, they all tore to squishy bits.' (Speck:Ǩənaw $\alpha$ s\#2; my gloss)
verb-nominal lack of concord common:
(4) na sénope welámaht $\alpha \mathrm{k}$ ", méhčina.

| na | senope | [e]-wəl-am.ah.t.aw-t | meht-n.e-[w]-a. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| that.AN | $[\operatorname{man}]$ | C-good-behave.caus.T.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-A N c j$ | end-suffer.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{W}-\mathrm{ABS} . \mathrm{AN}$ |

'that man who was kind, died'
(5) nə̀yo ehtahsí-siǩak, pečíhlate awíkəw $\alpha$ mək, wənisəwíhətičil mehčínekal.

| ni yo | [e].htahs-sik.an-k | pet-hl. $\alpha$-t-e | a-wikəw $\alpha$ m-ək |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| so this.IN | C.every-spring.? ${ }_{\text {IN }}-\mathrm{INcj}$ | arrive-go.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}$-ANcj-ABS.IN | 3-house-LOC |
| wə-nis-əw | .i-həti.t-il | meht-n.e-[w]-ək.al |  |
| 3-two-W.? | an-pl.ANcj-obv | end-suffer.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}$-W-ABS.obv |  |

'So every spring, when he arrived at his house, his wife was dead.'
(késihl $\alpha$ t (G.D., revised version):1; my gloss)
only clear case: ${ }^{6}$ concord btw transferee argument wə̀təpe 'h/her head (abs.)' \& verb |-ələmahke-|
'throw away':
(6) $\quad \alpha n$ ni, eli-sánikiit, eləmáhkete wə̀təpe.
$\begin{array}{ll}\alpha n \text { ni } & {[e]-\partial l-s a n i k . i-t} \\ \text { well then } & \text { C-in...way-[blow.nose].? }{ }_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{ANc}\end{array}$
[e]-ələm- $\alpha$ hk.e-t-e
C-away-throw.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}-A N c j-A B S . I N$
wə-təp-e
well then C-in...way-[blow.nose].? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-A N c j$ C-away-throw.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-A N c j-A B S . I N$ 3-head-ABS.IN
'Well then, as he blew his nose he popped off [lit. threw away] what had been his head.' (énikəəss:6)

- note: fewer chances for v-n concord attestation, b'c periph. abs. is, well, absent in conj, subord., ANpat forms
- verbal concord seems only consistently attested on verbs with "inherently absentative" semantics?

$$
\text { (10) nə kčikikilahsəwal }{ }^{9} \text { wətihl } \alpha \text { n, "t } \alpha \text { n nsisək"?" }
$$

 wətihləkon, "tihtəkəli ${ }^{10}$ wətələmiptone."

| $\begin{array}{ll} \text { ni } & {[k} \\ \text { then } & \text { ch } \end{array}$ | [kčikikilahso]-al chickadee-obv | wə-ihl. $\alpha$-əne | t $\alpha$ n | n -Sisək |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 3-tell.dir ${ }_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{N}$ | where | 1-eye |
| wə-ihl.ək-əne | tihtəkəli | wə-ələm-p.t.aw-əne-e |  |  |
| $3-[t e l l] . \mathrm{inv}_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{N}$ | great.horned.owl | 3-away-[snatch].T.? ${ }_{\text {an }}-\mathrm{N}-\mathrm{ABS} . \mathrm{IN}$ |  |  |

'Then he said to Chickadee, "Where is my eye?" Then (Chickadee) said to him, "Great Horned Owl took it (away)."،
(Speck:12 (my gloss)'
(11) nə petaǩəəhak epáhstək"e, ah $\alpha$, n'wəs $\alpha k h i k ə t a h i n ~ s k o w t a m, ~ n ' w ə p a k a h a t o n, ~ w ə t ə l ə m i-~$ Kँəs[s]ihatone ${ }^{11}$ toləpe wəpeskəh้ $\alpha$ ti.

'When it had floated halfway across the river, yes, then a trout jumped into view, then he bit it, he swallowed up Turtle's gun.'
(Speck:15)

- the above forms in addition demonstrate Penobscot conflation of Cree/Fox (Pentland 2000) inaccessible vs. (strict) absentative distinction to a single paradigm (="unavailable"?)
III. Usage
(12) Animate:
a. wəmóhsomsəkal ' $h /$ her deceased grandfather', pl. wəmóhsomsəka (cf. wəmóhsomsal ' $\mathrm{h} / \mathrm{her}$ grandfather; $\mathrm{h} / \mathrm{her}$ stepfather')
b. nəkə̀təkँa 'my former/lost knee', ${ }^{13}$ pl. nəkə̀təkokal (cf. nəkə̀tək" AN 'my knee')
(13) Inanimate:
a. nsìsəke 'my former/lost eye', pl. nsísəkokal (cf. nsìsəǩ IN 'my eye')
b. ntáwake 'my former/lost ear'; pl. ntawákokal (cf. ntàwak' IN 'my ear')
-can be physically present, but discursively unavailable (as in presentative colloc. [dem.] +=tahk:
(14) naste wətələmi-kipihl $\alpha$ n wopsk; pihtes elihl $\alpha$ t, w wkatahk čitanáhǩihaso, mehčine.

'Immediately Whitebear toppled over (away); when Foam went there, there he (Whitebear, absentative) was, stiff, he was dead.'
(Speck:240:pihtes; retranscription, phrase breaks, and translation mine)
-can be dead/absent but not absentative:
(15) mèǩak wəkisi-kəmotən $\alpha$ támən $\alpha$, nətákitənom, na nəǨəči-kisóhsi.

| meǩe-ak | wə-kis-kəmotən.e-m.t.am-əne-əw $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mohawk-ANpl | 3-perf.-[steal].? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-$ M.T.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{N}-\neq 1 \mathrm{pl}$ |  |
|  |  |  |
| nə-aǩitən-əm | na | nəǨəət-kisohs-iwi. |
| 1 -[canoe]-M | $?$ | one-month-IWI |

'The Mohawks stole my canoe one month ago.'
(16) kènok àǩa níhǩ̌ $\alpha$, àht $\alpha$ pəmówəsiwi, owa kčí-s $\alpha$ kəm $\alpha$, $\alpha$ átehtek.

| kenok=aǩa <br> but=QT | nihk $\alpha$ p now | aht $\alpha$ <br> not | pəm- $\alpha w . ə s . i-w-[w]$ <br> along-live.rflx.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{NEG}-\mathrm{W}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| owa <br> this.AN | kəht-s $\alpha k ə m \alpha$ great-leader |  | [e]-apat.e-(w)-aht.e-k <br> C-lean.? ${ }_{\mathrm{IN}}-(\mathrm{W})$-sit.? $?_{\mathrm{N}}-\mathrm{INcj}$ |

'But now the great chief, The Leaner, was not alive.' ( $\alpha$ pátehtek:13)

## Extant vs. non-extant absentatives?

-data is rather unclear (a few examples from PD ms., none in text)
(17a) nə̀tol IN 'my watercraft, boat, canoe', pl. nə̀tolal
prior. (still in existence):
nətoləwe 'my former canoe (lost, missing, sold, stolen)', pl. nətòlokal
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nə̀tole 'my former canoe', pl. nətóləkal
(17b) nətápasim AN 'my tree’
prior.: (in existence). nətapásima, pl. nətápasiməkik ${ }^{14}$
prior.: (not in existence).
nətápasiməka ${ }^{15}$, pl. nətapasíməkak
(17c) $\quad \alpha$ ttólhowe AN 'sleeveless body garment or wrap (made of hide), stole; shirt' prior.: (still in existence):
nət $\alpha$ ttólhowa AN 'my former...', pl. nət $\alpha$.tolhówekak
nət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha$ wénokak AN ‘our former...[pl.]’
wət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha w e ́ w \alpha k a \operatorname{AN}$ 'their former...[pl.]'
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nət $\alpha$ ttolhóweka AN 'my former...' pl. nət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha w$ wékak
nət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha w e n o ́ k a k ~ A N ~ ‘ o u r ~ f o r m e r . . .[p l] ’ ~ '$.
wət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha w$ weẃka AN 'their former...[pl.]'
(17d) nətáhtopi AN 'my bow’
prior.: (still in existence):
nətaht $\alpha$ pika $[k]^{16}$ 'my former bows' (no sg. given)
prior.: (no longer in existence):
nətáht $\alpha$ рәуa 'my former bow, lost bow', pl. nətaht $\alpha$ píkak
(17e) nətahtớpinawak AN 'our bows'
nətaht $\alpha$ pinokak 'our former bows (still in existence),
nətaht $\alpha$ pinókak 'our former bows (no longer in existence)'

- at least one clear pattern: pl. non-extant abs. = marked penult. (s.v.) accent
(cf. default antepenult for pl. extant abs.) ${ }^{17}$
others: special marking sg. (|-əw-|, |-ək-|) is unclear, re extant~non-extant. ${ }^{18}$
- $\quad P D$ notes rather explicitly absentative extant $\sim$ non-extant contrast; but details remain murky.
IV. Is there an absentative conjunct? An absentative locative?
- traditional Algonquianist "subjunctive" $=$ conj. $+|-\mathbf{e}|^{19}$
(18) kahsihpótoke, kətəli-námihton, kk $\alpha k \alpha ́ w i m \alpha n$.

| kahs-hpo.t.aw-k-e | kə-əl-nam.h.t.aw-əne | kə-k $\alpha k \alpha w-m . \alpha-ə n e$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| wipe-[oscillate].T.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}$ - - NNcj-ABS.IN | 2-in...way-[see].caus.T.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{N}$ | 2-rough-speak.with. $\operatorname{dir}_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{N}$ |

'If he erases it, be sure to scold him.'
(S:60:8:17)

- this $|-e|$ is IN absentative singular $|-e|$; subjunctive $=\underline{\text { absentative conjunct }}$

Penobscot subjunctive usage:

| w/o initial change | protasis of conditionals and of counterfactuals ${ }^{20}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $w /$ initial change (=changed subjunctives) | subordinate events that are real but inaccessible |

Q: What's being relativized? (cf. agt, pat; rel root [=accessible/immediate event/times])
A: "inaccessible" event/times
= hypothetical or idealized (=conditional, counterfactual),
$=$ no longer accessibly the case (changed subjunctive use)
$=$ precisely the criteria for absentative marking...hence conj. $+|-e|$

- $|-\mathrm{e}|$ is IN absentative morpheme marking the inacessibility of that relativized event/time


## immediate advantages:

(a) fits with general pattern of periph. agr. on rel. cl. conjuncts---i.e. conj. participials (b) simplifies overall morphological lexicon: one |-e| rather than two, accounting for the semantic range of uses of various $|-\mathrm{e}| \mathrm{s}$ in one fell swoop

CAVEAT: $\quad|-\mathrm{e}|$ might be agr. for abstract $I N$ event-time head, or might just be default ${ }^{21}$ (cf. IN/least-marked verbal agr. for clausal complements of verbs)

## Absentative conjunct with initial change (changed subjunctive)

'inaccessible realis event' inferred from consistency in pragmatic content of ch. subjunctives ---i.e. seem to be used for realis events which are somehow distanced or inaccessible
how this derives:

- realis associated with initial change
= corollary to Brittain 2001: unchanged conj. generally used with irrealis contexts
- distancing/inaccessibility $=$ effect of the absentative


## Where the changed abs. conj. appears:

-collocations emphasizing the distance between two times or states:
(19) tơn nèkette ew $\alpha$ ossisəwisáne

| tan | neke=tte | [e]-aw $\alpha$ s-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan-e |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| how | NEKE=EMPH | $\underline{\text { C-child-dim-dim-W.? }}$ AN-ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN |

'ever since he was a child'
(Siebert 1988:748)
-conjuncts referring to realis times that are discursively unavailable:
(20)
a. piwsə́ssəyane
[e]-piw-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan-e
C-small-dim-dim-W.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}$-ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { b. pahpiwséssəyane } & \text { [e]-R-piw-əhs-s-əw.i-t-əsahan-e } \\ \text { 'when you were very very small' } & \underline{\text { C-R-small-dim-dim-W.? }}{ }_{\text {AN }}-\text { ANcj-SAN-ABS.IN }\end{array}$
(S:30:back page notes)

- pragmatic content of these 3 examples is of an event-time, childhood, that humans typically speak of with a distancing contrast, i.e. between that long-lost state and now ${ }^{22,23}$
-other unreachable realis relativizees: collocation with tan=eht 'how + [uncertain]' $=$ rhetorically
"inaccessible" degree, e.g.:
"inacessible" height:
kkīỵ, ni àkwač ni owa mkasewi-áləmoss, èskáa ni eliphə́ketəpan, iyòtahk àkuač iye nihkóni, pemsékihl $\alpha$ t wàčo, ton eht espahsekíhlokke, tekakópite, iye awépi.

| kkiy <br> ah! | ni=akwa $=$ č ni then $=\mathrm{QT}=\mathrm{FUT}$ then | owa this.AN | məhkasew-aləmoss black-[dog] | esǩa ni [e]-əl-ph.ək.e-t-əpan <br> still then C-in...way-[flee].? ${ }_{\text {AN }}-A N c j-P A N$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| iyo $=$ tahk $=2$ | \%a | iye n | $\alpha$-iw | [e]-pə | sek-h. $\alpha$-t | wačo |
| this.IN=DEI | $\mathrm{IC}=\mathrm{QT}=\mathrm{FUT}$ | yonde | n.front-IWI | C-along | dge-go.? ${ }_{\text {AN }}-\mathrm{ANcj}$ | mountain |
| $t \alpha n=e h t$ | [e]-asp-ahsek-hl | w-t-e |  | [e]-takak- $\alpha$ p.i-t-e |  | aw |
| how=UNC | C-along-ledge-go.? | v-NEG- | ANcj-ABS.IN C -end | C-ending.at...-look.? ${ }_{\text {an }}$-ANcj-ABS.IN |  | up-IWI |

'Ah! Consequently while the black dog had been in pursuit, here behold, at a distance ahead a mountain would rise precipitously, so that to whatever heights its crags might extend, to yonder place above was as far as he could look.'
(msáhtawe:18)

- (t $\alpha$ n eht) espahsekíhl $\alpha \mathbf{k k y e}$ 'however high its ledges might ( not $^{24}$ ) go';
- tekakópite. 'as far as he could look ${ }^{25}$
---abs. gives narrative emphasis on an fantastically unreachable height
"inaccessible" height: exaggerative emphasis on the size of mound[tain!] of meat a cannibal giant is wolfing down:
 kpakékəsikanal...

'Ah! He really ate with gusto, how much those thick slices formed a heap...'
(K"síȟ̌~pe:6)
-gemination? (phonologically similar) negation? (since would normally expect |-ənokke|)
"unreachable" extent of effort = 'no matter how...':
(23) tànəpeht elalóhkete, nətáht $\alpha$ tte wəpəǩahsanohtáw $\alpha w ə y a l$.

| t $\alpha \mathrm{n}=\mathrm{pa}=$ eht | [e]-əl-alohk.e-t-e |
| :---: | :---: |
| how $=$ POT $=$ UNC | C-in...way-work.? ${ }_{\text {an }}$-ANcj-ABS.IN |
| nətaht $\alpha=$ tte not=EMP | wə-pəǩ $\alpha$-ahsan.i-ht.aw. $\alpha$-w-[w]-al <br> 3-effectively-power.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-[c a u s]$. towards.dir ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{NEG}-\mathrm{W}$-obv |

'No matter what he did, he never matched him in power.' (msáhtawe:23)

- a rather common collocation in Penobscot narratives; again fits pattern of
init.ch. $+\mathbf{c j}$ (for realis event/degree) + absentative (for unreachable/infinite sense)
$=$ the no matter of 'no matter what/how...'.

Note: two forms in (20) do not overtly and unambiguously demonstrate initial change, but

- 2 two points support ch.subjunctive:
(1) glosses don't fit the conditional/counterfactual sense of unchanged conj.
(2) (for what it's worth) Siebert field notes independently explicitly label as "changed subjunctives"
- limited. distribution of unambiguous initial change + limited corpus $=$ jury still out
- ---however, all available evidence is consistent with and expected from the absentative conjunct model as applied to changed subjunctives


## An absentative (conjunct?) etymology for ččike 'when?’

(24) ččìkeč mìna kənámihol.'

| ččike=č | mina | kə-nam.h.əl-əp |
| :--- | :---: | :--- |
| when=FUT | again | 2-see.caus.2pat-P |

'When will I see you again?' (S.D.:38)
(25) ččìke $\alpha$ pk"ə́tehte.'

| ččike | $\alpha$ kk-ət.e-(w)-aht.e |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | en-?.? ${ }_{\text {NS }}$-(W)-sit.? |

'When is it open?'
(S.D.: 100)

Partial solution: if interrogative 'when?' by definition refers to a time non-immediate/non-available to the speaker, then absentative $|-\mathrm{e}|$ at the end of ččike makes sense, even more so if $/-\mathrm{k}-/$ preceding $|-\mathrm{e}|$ is an old IN conjunct ${ }^{26}$ form of putative *|ahči-|. ${ }^{27,28}$

## Cross-linguistic parallels: morphologically compositional 'if’ in Somali and Tsou

## Somali háddíi 'if’

- "non-remote" vs. "remote" definite article distinction:
a. náag-ta 'the woman (non-remote)'
nin- $\underline{k a}$ 'the man (non-remote)'
b. náag-tíi 'the woman (remote)'
nin-kii 'the man (remote)'
(ad. from Saeed 1999:(114))

Saeed 1999:112: "If the referent of the noun is distant from the speaker, or is in the past, the remote forms kiiltii are used; the article ka/ta is unmarked spatially, and is used for referents temporally located in the present and future."

- remote definite article: 'past', 'distant' semantics = nearly exactly definition of absentative
key observation (Saeed 1999:222):
- fem. noun hád 'moment, point in time; case, instance' + (fem.) remote article -tíi
= head of Somali conditional clauses...i.e. háddíi = 'if...'
(27) Haddii aad furaysaan albaabka, dirin igu duuduuba ee i tiiriya.
Had-d-ii aad fur-ay-saan albaab-ka dirin

| time-the.F-RMT | 2 | open-PRG-2pl.SUB |  |  | door-the.M | dirin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| i-ku |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.ACC-with... | duuduub-a | wrap-2pl.IMPR | and | and | 1.ACC | tiiriy-a. |
| [make.stand.up]-2pl.IMPER |  |  |  |  |  |  |

'If you $[p l]$ open the door, wrap me up in a dirin $[$ a kind of mat] and stand me up."'
(adapted from SCS:Gabadhii Caqliga Badnayd; accents omitted)
-> Somali $=$ another case of a distancing morpheme + subordinator $^{29}=$ ' $\mathrm{if} . .$. ' $(=\mathrm{cj}+\mathrm{abs}$ in Penobscot $)$
Tsou hoci 'if'

- prenominal ne 'realis' and ho 'irrealis'
(Ya-yin Melody Chang, p.c. 2003)
- they distinguish realis 'yesterday' and irrealis 'tomorrow':
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { a. ne hucma } & \text { 'yesterday', } \\ \text { b. ho hucma }\end{array}$
(ad. from Wang et al.:42)
hucma $=$ lit. 'a day from now [ $\mathrm{w} /$ temporal direction unspecified $]$ '
- ho 'irrealis' seems to form part of hoci= Tsou 'if' element:

| hoci | cuma | na | $i$-ko | ımпıa, | naho | $e a-a$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| if | what | Nom | NAF-2S | like-PF | please | take-PF |
| 'If you like anything, please take it' (adapted from Chang 2000:16:(45a)) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

$2^{\text {nd }}$ element in hoci $=$ Tsou subordinating element $c i$ (occurs post- or pre-clausally):
(post-clausal $=$ restrictive, a pre-clausal $=$ non-restrictive)

| a. | $\begin{align*} & o-h-' u-c u  \tag{30}\\ & \text { NAF-Rea-1S-Perf } \end{align*}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ait-i } \\ & \text { see-PF } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ‘o } \\ & \text { Nom } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & o-h-s i \\ & \text { NAF-Rea-3S } \end{aligned}$ |  | tpos-i <br> write-PF | to pasuya cie tpos, |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| b. | $o-h$ | ait | 'o | tpos |  |  | tpos | to pasuya |
|  | NAF-Rea-1S-Perf | see-PF | Nom | book |  | Rea-3S | write-PF | Obl Pasuya |

'The book that was written by Pasuya was read by me.'
(adp. from Chang 1998:69:(17))

- $h o c i=h o$ 'irrealis' $+c i$ 'relativizer' $=$ Penobscot $\mathbf{c j}+\mathbf{a b s}$. , in reverse


## Directive locative: an absentative locative?

Penobscot reflex of Proto-Algonquian locative *-enki ${ }^{30}$ is $|-\partial \mathbf{k}|$ :
(31) məkíhkanək 'at the fish hook; Magegunuck [=] Portland, Maine.'
(cf. mə̀kihkan IN 'fish hook') (PD:273)

- $\mid-$-学 $\mid=$ "directive locative" (PD:); prim. indicates the goal towards which a motion is directed:
(32) a. mə̀natən IN 'hillock, knoll, hill, large mound'
b. mə̀natənok 'at/on the hill'
c. mənátənoke 'towards the hillock, at the hill in the distance ${ }^{31}$ (PD:275)
(33) a. míhkəm $\alpha k k i$ IN 'the Micmac country'
b. míhkəmokkik 'in the Micmac country'
c. mihkəmókkike 'in the Micmac country, toward the Micmac country' (PD:278)
- $\quad$ directive locative $\mid$-əke $\mid=$ plain locative $|-\partial \mathbf{k}|+|-\mathrm{e}|$
again: this $|-\mathrm{e}|=\mathrm{IN}$ absentative singular morpheme $|-\mathrm{e}|$


## Semantic arguments for dir. loc. to be abs. loc.:

- "directive" meaning fits that of the absentative: a location viewed as the goal of a direction is by definition inaccessible, absent from the present/local point of reference
- similative extension of dir. loc. also fits absentative semantics:
(34) kàm $\alpha c ̌$ àkea kínopto, «̀ns $\alpha$ àkwa èləwe awéhsohsəke, ál $\alpha$ pto.

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { kam } \alpha \check{c}=a \text { kua }^{2} \\ & \text { very }=\text { QT } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { kin- } \alpha \text { p.t.aw-[w] } \\ & \text { big-[track].T.? } ?_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{W} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \alpha \mathrm{ns} \alpha=\text { ak"a } \\ & \text { truly=QT } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| elowe | awehsohs-ək.e | əl-op.t.aw-[w] |
| almost | bear-LOC-ABS.IN | in...way-[track].T.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{W}$ |

'He made very large footprints, in fact he left tracks of a kind almost like a bear's.' (wə̀sk"ekkehs:8) ${ }^{32}$
(35) ...kám $\alpha$ č àkua, wa áwen, kín $\alpha$ pto, mehč àke้eht óákəməke, atót $\alpha$ pto.

'...this person made a big track, comparable to the size of a snowshoe, so great was the footprint made'
(k"sih"ope:2)

- "directive" <-> "similative": approaching, nearing... (in English similative sense) ...i.e. literal spatial motion sense reread/recast as stative dislocation $=$ the gulf between the referent's actual characteristics, and those of whatever it is likened to:
(36) With a look approaching absolute disgust, she left.
- similative |-ək-e| thus derives from abs. not only via directive sense, but also via relationship with 'if': -cf. English similatives in as if..., and similar patterns in Penobscot:

| ...̀̀ns $\alpha$ mànəna motkamikihpóteke |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |
| $\alpha \mathrm{ns} \alpha$ manəna  <br> truly as.if mot-ahkamik-hpot.e-k-e <br> move-[land]-[oscillate].?in-INcj-ABS.IN   |  |

'...in fact it seemed as if the earth trembled.' (kəlosk $\alpha$ pe n $\alpha \mathrm{k} \alpha$ toləpe\#1:10)

- similative mànəna 'as if, like' matched w/ 'if'-clause
$=m \alpha$ tkamikihpóteke 'if there is earth-trembling, ${ }^{33}$
- assuming absentative $\sim$ 'if' semantic relationship, then absentativity underlies both the morphology and the semantics of the directive locative, hence absentative locative. ${ }^{34}$


## Summary

- subjunctive's and directive locative's $|-\mathrm{e}|$ s identified with the IN abs. sg. ending $|-\mathrm{e}|$
- justified on internal semantic grounds, from the semantics of extensions therefrom, and from the semantics of the collocations they enter into
- absentative conjunct analysis for 'if'-clauses (conditional, counterfactual) has direct parallels in other unrelated languages (Somali, Tsou); abs. loc. analysis of dir. loc. has parallels in English


## V. The beginnings of a solution for an old PA to PEA problem?

"Less easily explained is the continuation of PA *-e marking the subjunctive mode as PEA *- $\bar{e}$ ( $>$ Unami $-e$, Eastern Abenaki $e$ ), or the source of the absentative singular endings PEA *- $\bar{a}$ (anim.) and *- $\bar{e}$ (inan.): Unami lə́nuwa 'man (absent or dead)', mpiye 'water (that is all gone)'." (Goddard 1979:99)

- ...the absentative conjunct analysis hints at a link between PA *-e subjunctive and PEA *-ē 'ABS.IN'
- but exactly what link?


## ABBREVIATIONS

| ..] | (in morpheme glosses) indicates incompletely parsed morpheme |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1, 2, 3, AN, IN | $1^{\text {st }}, 2^{\text {nd }}, 33^{\text {rd }}$ person, animate, inanimate ag | marker |  |
| 1 pl | $1^{\text {st }}$ person plural (exclusive, unless otherwise specified via "in" or "ex") |  |  |
| $\neq 1 \mathrm{pl}$ | non-1 $1^{\text {st }}$ person plural (i.e. ${ }^{\text {nd }}$ or $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural) |  |  |
| dir | direct patient marker: transitive action flowing outward wrt locality |  |  |
| inv | inverse patient marker: transitive action flowing inward wrt locality |  |  |
| P | local referent marker \|-əp| | W | non-local referent marker $\mid-[\mathbf{w}]$; "initial-izer" $\mid-(\boldsymbol{)}$ )w |
| N | \|-əne| morpheme (multi-functional) | C | initial change (of changed conjunct) |
| R | reduplication | M | possessive marker \|-əm|; ??transitive |-m| (cf. L for similar |-1|) |
| T | $\|-t\|$ detransitivizer/nominalizer | ? | unglossed morpheme; especially abstract final |
| IWI | the suffix $\mid-\mathrm{i}$ [ $\mathbf{w i} \mathrm{l}$, a sort of adverbializer | ABS | absentative |
| obv | obviative | cj | conjunct |
| unspec | unspecified referent | pat | patient |
| perf | perfective aspect | caus | causative |
| xpl | extended-plural (forms AI stems) | POT | potential enclitic |
| FUT | future enclitic | QT | quotative enclitic |
| FOC | focus enclitic | EMP | emphatic (intensifying) enclitic |
| UNC | uncertainty marker (enclitic) | DEIC | deictic enclitic (used primarily in presentatives) |
| SAN, PAN | apparent evidentials \|-əsahan| and |-əpan| that seem to indicate something like a dubitative and non-dubitative preterite/anterior respectively; exact usage remains unclear |  |  |
| NAF | non-agent focus (Tsou) | PF | patient focus (Tsou) |
| Nom | nominative (Tsou) | Obl | oblique (Tsou) |
| Rea | realis (Tsou) | S | singular (Tsou) |
| F | feminine (Somali) | M | masculine (Somali) |
| RMT | remote (Somali) | SUB | subordinate clause agreement marker (Somali) |
| ACC | accusative (Somali) | PRG | progressive (Somali) |

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[^0](a) nə̀yo ehtahsí-siǨak, pečihlote áht $\alpha$ m $\alpha$, wənisəwihətitəkal-mehčinekal
ni yo [e].htahs-sik.an-k
so this.IN C.every-spring.? ${ }_{\mathrm{IN}}-\mathrm{INcj}$
wə-nis-əw.i-həti.t-əkal
pet-hl. $\alpha-\mathrm{t-e}$
arrive-go.?
meht-n.e-[w]-ək.al
aht $\alpha m \alpha$
not[existential?]
(késihlot (G.D.: first version, not later one; from S:30):1)
This appears just to be a case of continued reference, since the transcription explicitly notes the pause between the two last words.
${ }^{7}$ There is a note that these forms listed under a column labelled "surprise," presumably because of the glosses, which suggest that the interaction of the absentative with the as-yet unclear evidential function of the $\mid$-sahani| morpheme derives a mirative reading. These may have been the forms Siebert was referring to when he recounted to me an anecdote in which he witnessed a Penobscot speaker using the absentative ("priorative," in his preferred terms) in reference to a baby asleep in the other room; this is not quite clear. [[RF]still need to work on PAN forms in S:72:41 and S:72:49]
${ }^{8}$ The gloss for the Penobscot Dictionary ms. entry alihl $\alpha$ wálotokak 'they went at a previous time' (PD:50) may come from this textual example.
${ }^{9}$ Compare this transcription, by Speck, with the phonetically similar kəčəkikilahso recorded by Siebert. This may be interspeaker variation, or just inter-recorder variation.
${ }^{10}$ Speck's original form seems to reflect ti(h)ktakəli, which could well be this speaker's use, since the form is onomatopoeic.
${ }^{11}$ The transcription here suggests geminate /ss/, but most other attestations of this form, as well as cognates from related languages, suggest plain $/ \mathbf{s} /$.
${ }_{13}^{12}$ Hard to say if this is from |-ak'-ah-an| or |-ak'-ah-am|.
${ }^{13}$ Note here that $|-\mathbf{a}|$ 'abs. sg' does not labialize under the influence of preceding /-k'/, unlike $|-\mathbf{a}|$ 'obv. pl.'. Contrast this form with wəkə̀təko 'AN's knees (obv. pl)'. This lack of labialization fits with Goddard 1979's model of the AN absentative's history: only PA *Cwa(C) ever went to *Co(C), and never *Cwaa(C).
${ }^{14}$ This form is unexpected and perhaps is an error for <nətápasiməkak>. Even then the resulting form has an extremely unusual accent, since */nətapásiməkak/ would be predicted by the typical pattern of stressing antepenultimate strong vowel (cf. LeSourd 2000). An similiarly accentually unusual case among these forms is the extant abs. plural in (17a), but this might be a genuine feature of absentative inflection.
${ }^{15}$ See the note after next for possible reinterpretation of this transcription.
${ }^{16}$ The actual listed form is <nətahtópikan>, which is almost certainly a typographical error for <nətahtópikak>.
${ }^{17}$ There is one case of the plural non-extant accentual pattern extending to the singular: an example of an "intensive possessive" form using possessive marker |-əm| used with the same stem as in (17c): prior. (still in existence):
nət $\alpha$ ttolhówema AN 'my own former...', pl. nət $\alpha$ ttolhóweməkak
b. prior. (no longer in existence): nət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha$ wéməka AN 'my own former...', pl. nət $\alpha$ ttolh $\alpha w e ́ m ə k a k$

I have unearthed nothing comparable to the underlined form, though the aforementioned unusual accent of non-extant <nətápasiməka> (see RFb) might be a transcription of a secondary accent where the main accent is on the penult, i.e. of /nətàpasiməka/ This would fit the above association of penultimate accentuation for non-extant absentatives. But then we would expect *nəttolh $\alpha$ wéka rather than attested nəttolhóweka for the non-extant form without intensive possessive---unless the presence of the intensive possessive morpheme is somehow a relevant factor.
${ }^{18}$ A further twist, and, frustratingly, apparently a hapax legomena: |-aka| for an unsuffixed singular absenative: nə̀tosa 'my deceased daughter' vs. nətòsəka 'my deceased daughter [which is rhetorical or archaistic]' (PD:7, italics mine).
${ }^{19}$ This, by normal sound change is almost certainly the source of the abstract V discussed for cognate Passamaquoddy-Maliseeet forms in LeSourd 1993. Unfortunately, due to the peripheral nature of the morpheme, such an analysis cannot be verified synchronically in that language, as LeSourd rightly laments.
${ }^{20}$ The occasional use of Penobscot subjunctives with the gloss 'when...' with regard to future/irrealis events parallels languages such as Indonesian, which distinguish realis waktu... 'when...' and irrealis kalau 'when (future)...; if...' rather consistently. This once again fits into the tight relationship (leading to conflation, much possibly just on my part!) between irrealis and absentative: a conceptualization of irrealis events as inaccessible, and therefore subject to absentative marking in morphology.
${ }^{21}$ Nor would I go so far as to claim that this is evidence for an Event argument (Kratzer 1996, etc.), though it might be read as so.
${ }^{22}$ While realis vs. irrealis is relevant to the choice of absentative or plain conjuncts, the relationship is not one-to-one. Irrealis event-times such as conditionals and counterfactuals do require absentative marking, but so do realis-but-unavailable ones such as those denoted by the changed subjunctive. I suspect that the primary problem here is an inadequacy in analytical and terminological distinctions: irrealis realis is too broad and too simple.
${ }^{23}$ The related distancing effect produced by anterior morpheme $|-\partial s a h a n|$ here has parallels in many languages (cf. Iatridou (missing ref?); a similar temporal and spatial distancing morpheme is Burmese khé.
${ }^{24}$ The motivation for the negative is unclear, but reminiscent of some Romance and dialectal English irrealis/subjunctive constructions that require a seemingly "illogical" negative. More confusing is why both negative and positive forms appear in these sorts of constructions in Penobscot.
${ }^{25}$ In the following example, the gloss is somewhat unclear, but assuming that how he would become in size is meant as an embedded exclamative, then again we have a case of changed absentative conjunct used to convey discursively "unreachable" degree.
(c) molam eht, tan eləkílokke, $\alpha$ śssahk àǩa nìkik, kisi-pəm $\alpha$ wəsəwinəwihpolətosánik.

| molam=eht | $\underline{t} \mathbf{n}$ | [e]-əl-ək.il-w-t-e | $\boldsymbol{\alpha s s a h k}=\mathbf{a k}{ }^{\text {a }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| at.length $=$ UNC | how | C-in...way-of.size.? ${ }_{\text {an }}$-NEG-ANcj-ABS.IN | ??evidently=QT |
| nikik <br> those.AN |  | mawəsəwinəw]-hp.i-[w]-ələt.i-[w]-sahan eat.? ${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{W}-\left[\mathrm{xpl} . ?_{\mathrm{AN}}\right]-\mathrm{W}-\mathrm{SAN}-\mathrm{ANpl}$ |  |

'At length presumably, how he would become in size[; ] evidently these ones had partaken of human flesh.' (Ǩsíhope:7)
${ }^{26}$ Or perhaps locative; see next subsection.
${ }^{27}$ Such an analysis might further explain why ččike alone of the interrogatives does not have an indefinite use...though exactly how I am not sure.
${ }^{28}$ This is also a plausible analysis for Passamaquoddy-Maliseet tayəwèk 'when?' as well: it terminates in conjunct/locative-hinting /-k/, and has a final low accent explainable as a missing historical |*-e|, or just as the synchronic IN absentative, which takes its primary form (i.e. excluding issues of stemfinal vowel deletion and recovery/reshaping) as a low accent on the final syllable of the (untruncated) stem. Once again, however, there is no way to be sure, since the deleted vowel cannot be recovered synchronically.
${ }^{29}$ Here there seems to be an overt relativized head for the complementizer, i.e. this hád; comparable overt heads are found for other types of Somali complementizers; see Saeed 1999:224 for details.
${ }^{30}$ Tantalizingly similar to the conjunct of an IN verbal final in *-en...and at least from this diachronic perspective, one could argue this (as the source of the locative) as a sort of quick and dirty conjunct of an IN existential.
${ }^{31}$ Note in particular the phrase 'in the distance' involved in the gloss, reflecting the "distancing" sense of the absentative.
${ }^{32}$ In his final version of this text, Siebert sees this similative usage of the "directive locative" as unusual enough to warrant a footnote. He glosses the
form awéhsohsəke as 'at the bear's place; as a bear, like a bear's ---, like that of a bear', and notes that it is an example of "a special use of the directive locative which is found in several other Algonquian languages."
${ }^{33}$ A comparable example of similative element matching absentative conjunct is the following：
（d）．．．wətepáhkolณn pótepal，akitənok，tàhəlawəpa ípi，skowtaməwisáne．

| wә－tep－$\alpha$ hk．e－l．$\alpha$－əne |  | potepe－al | akıitən－ək |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 －into．vehicle－throw． $\mathrm{DO}_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{L} . \mathrm{dir}_{\mathrm{AN}}-\mathrm{N}$ |  | ［whale］－obv | ［canoe］－LOC |
| tahəlaw＝әра | ip－iwi |  | askowtam－əw．i－t－əsahan－e． |
| like＝POT | only－IWI |  | ［trout］－W．？${ }_{\mathrm{AN}}$－ANcj－SAN－ABS．IN |

＇．．．［he］tossed the whale into the canoe as though he were a trout＇（k．n⿳亠丷厂犬 $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$ toləpe\＃1：6）
Here the similative tàhəlaw＇like＇is matched by an absentative conjunct skowtaməwisáne＇if AN were a trout＇．
${ }^{34}$ A plain locative may be factually inaccessible，but not discursively so．Just as Penobscot can talk about literally dead individuals without explicitly marking them as unavailable，so too non－immediate places can have the same treatment，and thereby take only the plain locative．What is key is that when the notion of is discursively relevant－－－precisely when direction rather than immediate location is involved－－－then the inherent sense of non－ immediacy forces that forces the presence of an absentative．


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ See section III for discussion of this variant.
    ${ }^{2}$ The attestational gap in this corner of the paradigm is more likely due to a data gap then a genuine paradigmatic one. The overall system suggests *iyekal and *iyeka respectively as reasonable reconstructions.
    ${ }^{3}$ Following the pattern of other demonstratives, these two forms should also have variants as *oweke and *owekal respectively, but this is not clearly attested.
    ${ }^{4}$ It is interesting to note that the Penobscot supradistals appear to be made from the same morphological material as is Pentland 2000a,b reports for the the Cree and Fox strict absentatives: namely, an $|i y-|$ element. Given that this is one rather common vocalic syllable, this is not exactly an ironclad etymology for the Penobscot forms; but I would at least observe that of the three distality ranges (proximal, distal, and supradistal), the supradistal is the ${ }^{5}$ one most similar to the absentative, being closest to its "inaccessible" or "distant" sense.
    ${ }^{5}$ I have yet to locate examples of absentative concord with numerals or participle conjuncts, which would be expected.
    ${ }^{6}$ Below is the only other potential example of full concord that I have been able to locate:

